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JUNE MEETING, 1872.

A stated meeting was held on the 6th instant (instead of the 13th) by invitation of the President, at his house in Brookline.

The meeting was summoned at 4½ o'clock, P.M., and there was a large attendance.

After the Recording Secretary had read the record of the preceding meeting, and the Librarian had read the list of donors to the Library for the past month, President Winthrop spoke as follows: —

I am sure, gentlemen, that I shall be excused from any mere formal words of welcome on this occasion. While our Building is undergoing the process of reconstruction, the Society may fairly be considered as enjoying a vacation; and this meeting, certainly, has been convened rather for social than for business purposes.

In this view I have taken the liberty to invite a number of gentlemen, who are not among our members, to join us in the course of the afternoon. I was in hopes to have had the company of His Excellency the Governor, and of his predecessor, Governor Claflin, to both of whom I extended invitations. But their previous engagements, in other parts of the Commonwealth or of the country, have compelled them to excuse themselves. I hope still to welcome amongst us the President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; Dr. Palfrey, the eminent historian of New England, and others who are interested in our pursuits. Meantime we are favored with the presence of several of our Corresponding Members, — Mr. B. R. Winthrop, of New York, M. Jules Marcou, one of the representatives of our founder Dr. Belknap, and Professor Greene, the author of the Life of his gallant and patriotic grandfather, General Nathanael Greene. I welcome them all, in your name, as well as in my own.

And now let me avail myself of this opportunity to fulfil the promise I made when the Society intrusted me with the safe-keeping of the manuscripts of Governor Winthrop's Journal or History, until our Cabinet should be again in a condition to receive them.

I promised to give an account of the time at which, and of the circumstances under which, these manuscripts came into

our possession and ownership; and for this purpose I proceed to cite the following passages from letters of my father, Thomas Lindall Winthrop, a former President of our Society, which I have copied from old Letter Books, mainly on business, in his own handwriting.

In a letter to his elder brother, the late Francis Bayard Winthrop, Esq., of New York, dated Boston, Oct. 21, 1802, he says: —

"I have lately been several times applied to for the manuscript copy of Governor Winthrop's Journal. The Historical Society here are desirous of having it deposited in their Library; but if this cannot be granted they would be much gratified to see it, and they are of the opinion that some of the blanks in the printed copy may be filled up. The members of this Society have in their possession a great number of manuscripts of equal age with the Journal. Of course the formation of the letters and mode of writing are similar. If you do not incline that the manuscript shall remain here, I will engage, being a member of the Society, that it shall be returned to you at the time you shall fix, and we shall be much obliged to you for any old pamphlets, sermons, &c., you will have the goodness to give us."

In a letter to the same, dated Boston, Jan. 23, 1803, he says: —

"The sermons and the manuscript in the hands of Mr. Trumbull will be extremely acceptable. By Mr. Adam Winthrop, who left town a few days since for New York, I wrote to our brother William. He will be a good opportunity by which to send them."

In a letter to the same, dated Boston, Aug. 8, 1803, he says: —

"I will endeavor to obtain from Dr. Belknap's heirs Governor Winthrop's Journal. It is important that it be compared with the printed copy, that the blanks in the latter may, if possible, be filled up. You promised me some time since some old sermons and pamphlets printed in New England. The older the better. Every piece of paper that can throw light upon the first settlement of this country ought to go into the hands of those who have leisure, ability, and inclination to make them useful."

In a letter to the same, dated Boston, Aug. 20, 1803, he says: —

"The manuscript Journals of Governor Winthrop are in the library of the Historical Society."

In a letter to the same, dated May 9, 1815, he says: —

"I send you by Mr. Parker the second volume of the second series of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in which volume you will find the thanks of the Society acknowledged for the books and pamphlets you presented through me."

In that volume, at p. 285, will accordingly be found an acknowledgment by Rev. Dr. Holmes of "A large trunk of books and pamphlets, chiefly of ancient date, among which are many valuable tracts concerning the early history of New England" from "Francis Bayard Winthrop, Esq., of New York, by his brother, Thomas L. Winthrop, Esq., of Boston."

In a letter to his sister, Mrs. Jane Stewart, of Newport, dated March 24, 1817, he says: —

"You may remember that Governor Trumbull not long before his death procured from our brother John the loan of the manuscript Journal of Governor Winthrop, which was afterwards printed. Within these few weeks past a manuscript has most fortunately been found amongst some old books deposited many years since in the Old South Meeting House. This manuscript contains the remainder of Governor Winthrop's Journal to a period within a few weeks of his death. The discovery of this Journal seemed to give infinite pleasure to the Historical Society, of which I am a member, and witnessed the expressions of satisfaction and delight manifested by my brother-members at this important discovery."

The result of all these extracts is, that the two first parts of the old manuscript Journal or History of Governor Winthrop came down in the family succession to my father's eldest brother, John, who died, unmarried, in 1780; that Governor Trumbull borrowed the manuscript from him, and "with the assistance of his Secretary (as the preface says) copied a considerable part of it," and that it was printed at Hartford in 1790.

The title-page of that first edition speaks of it as written by "the First Governor of Massachusetts," and the dedication entitles the author "The Founder of the Massachusetts Colony, and for many years the Father and Governor of that infant Settlement."

It further appears that the ownership had passed to Francis Bayard Winthrop, of New York, the next brother to John, and that it had been loaned to Dr. Belknap, our founder, and had not been returned at the time of his death in 1798.

It further appears that my father, with the authority of his brother Francis, reclaimed it from Dr. Belknap's heirs, and

that on the 20th of August, 1803, he announced to his brother "The manuscript Journals of Governor Winthrop are in the Library of the Historical Society."

The history of the third part of the Journal is sufficiently given in the extract from the last letter, dated in 1817. It belonged to the family, like the other parts, and had probably been loaned by one of them to Dr. Prince, who, like Governor Trumbull and Dr. Belknap, had not returned it at his death.

The publication of the whole by our late President, Mr. Savage, and the unhappy destruction of the second part by fire, before it had been thoroughly compared and corrected, are well remembered by us all.

I am unwilling to leave this subject without exhibiting here to-day two original papers in the old Governor's hand, which were unquestionably the original study and first draft of what are known in History as "The Conclusions," or "Reasons to be considered for justifieinge the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England, & for incouraginge such whose hartes God shall move to joyne w^th^ them in it." These papers were prepared in 1629. I have already printed in the first volume of "The Life and Letters of John Winthrop" the finished papers, as found among the Governor's manuscripts, in the careful handwriting of his son Forth.

A condensed and imperfect copy had long before been published in what are called "The Hutchinson Papers." And in the sixth volume of our Proceedings, for the years 1864–1865 (pp. 417–430), will be found two other copies, more or less different from each other; one of them from the papers of the great English patriot, Sir John Eliot, being sent to me by the Earl of St. Germans, his descendant; and the other from the papers of John White, of Dorchester, in Her Majesty's State Paper Office in London, procured for me by Mr. Sainsbury.

There are few things more interesting in regard to the old Massachusetts Colony than the fact established by the papers of Sir John Eliot (recently published by our valued foreign associate, John Forster, LL.D.), that the original undertakers, as they styled themselves, were so immediately associated with John Hampden and Sir John Eliot and others of the foremost and most famous friends of Civil Liberty in England.

Sir John Eliot had Winthrop's paper in the Tower with him, and transcribed it with his own hand, before he died as a Martyr to Free Speech in Parliament. And John Hampden, in a letter to Eliot, promised to transcribe it also (as he probably did), and return it safely to Eliot in the Tower.

The autograph draft of such papers may justly be counted among the "*Origines Sacræ*" of our Commonwealth.

I had a careful copy made of them by our lamented associate, Dr. Appleton, while he was our assistant Librarian, with all the erasures, interlineations, and marginal additions; and I shall leave it to Mr. Deane and the Publishing Committee to decide how far they are worth printing. In their hands I now leave them, presenting the copies to the Society.

["*Conclusions*" *from the rough draft of Governor Winthrop.*]

1: It is concluded by all that the worke is bothe lawfull and honor^{ble}.

2: It must be advanced by suche instruments, as have gifts suteable to the action.

3: Everye one that is fitt hath not a minde to the worke, & no bonde of Conscience can be imposed vpon him, who hathe no desire to it.

4. The service of raysinge & vpholdinge a p̄tic̄ Churche is to be preferred before the betteringe some small p̄te of a Churche allreadye established.

The opportunity of converting suche a p̄te of the world is to be p̄ferred before the comfort of the life of some allreadye in the ffaithe.

5. The members of that Churche may be of better vse to their mother Churche heere in tyme then those whō she shall keepe in her bosome. When the woman was p̄secuted by the dragon, & forced to flye into the wildernesse, her man-child was taken vp into heaven, & there brought vp for future service, when she should returne after the storme. It was a good service to the Churche of the Jewes, that Joseph & Marye forsooke them, that their Messiah might be preserved for them against tymes of better service.

More care for one lost sheepe — more care for a younger childe — no portion, &c.

6. The exercise of an office of lesse consequence for God & his Churche, whereinto any is putt by an ordinary Callinge, may be lefte, vpon the like Callinge to an other office of greater consequence, espec̄ where there is no violatiō of the rule of Righteousnesse. & that there is suche difference betweene the supportinge of these plantatiō & the execution of an ordinarye place of magistracye in this lande, I referre to the iudgment of the best miñrs who vnderstande bothe aright.

So religious a worke, enterprized by suche worthy servants of God, & the ende so holye, & of so large extent, for the good of the churche, must be furthered according to the latitude of it, though with great inconvenience to many pties.

7. I can instance divers godly magistrats, who for private respects have forsaken the places where they have been longe settled to great vse & their chāges approved.

Particular Considerations.

1: It is come to that issue, as, in all probabilitye, the wellfare of the plantatiō depends vpon my assistance: for the maine pillars of it, beinge gentlemē of highe qualitye,

& eminent p̃ts, bothe for wisdome & godlinesse, are determined to sitt still if I deserte them.

When a man is to wade through a deepe water, there is required tallnesse as well as courage, & if he finds it past his depth, & there open a gapp another waye, he may take it.

2. My meanes heere are so shortened (now my 3 eldest sonnes are come to age), as I shall not be able to continue in this place & imployment where I now am: & a souldier may w^th^ honor quitt his grounde rather then be forced from it. & w^th^ what comfort can I liue w^th^ 7 or 8 servts in that place & condition, where for many yeares I have spent 3: or 400 ll yearly & maintained a greater chardge? & if I should let passe this opportunity, that talent w^ch^ God hathe bestowed on me for publike service were like to be buried.

When God intends a man to a worke he sets a Byas on his heart, so as tho' he be tumbled this waye & that way, yet his Bias still draws him to that side, & there he rests at last.

3. I haue a lawfull callinge, outwarde, from the Cheife of the plantatiõ, approved by godly & juditious divines: & inwarde by the inclinatiõ of mine owne heart to the worke: & there is in this the like mediate call from the kinge, w^ch^ was in the other.

4. My wife, and suche of my children as are come to yeares of discreatiõ, are voluntaryly disposed to the same course.

5. In my youth I did seriously consecrate my life to the service of the Churche intendinge the ministy^e^, but was diverted from that Course by the Counsell of some whose Judgment I did much reverence; but it hathe oftẽ troubled me since, so as I thinke I am the rather boũden to take the opportunitye for spendinge the small remainder of my tyme to the best service of the Churche w^ch^ I may.

6. W^ch^ way the streame of God's p̃vidence leads a man to the greatest good, he may, nay he must goe.

The removing of a scandall from a whole church & religion it selfe, is to be preferred before the benefit of any p̃tic̃ churche.

It is a scandale to oũ Religiõ that we shewe not as muche zeale in seeking the conversiõ of the heathen as the Papists doe, they sticke not to imploye of their most able men, while we sende onely such as we can best spare or are a burden to vs.

The Constant practice in all other like Cases must be a rule in this: in all foreine expeditiõs we stick not to imploy of oũ best statesmen, & we grutche not the want of their service at home, while they are imployed for the good of other churches abroade.

Ob: Many speake ill of the countrye, of the barrennesse &c. of it.

Ans: So did the Spyes of the lande of Canaan.

Ob: But should a man leave his Countrye where he is so well beloved, & breake through the teares & desires of so many good people?

Answ: So did Paul, Acts, [xxi. 13.] What doe you weepinge & breaking my heart, &c.?

The wellfare of this Com: w. stands vpon 2 maine pillars, Religion & Lawe.

Gen. i: 28. & the Lo: blessed them & said increase & multiply & replenishe the earth & subdue it. God did not replenishe the earth at first w^th^ men, but gave them his Comiss^n^ to multiplye & replenish & subdue it, w^ch^ is warrant enoughe for any one that liues in a Country where the people are a burden, to seeke out & replenishe & subdue other places w^ch^ lye waste, that God may haue the glorye of the Creature there also, & man may enioye the fruit of the earthe, w^ch^ was given him by this gen^l^ Comiss^n^. If it be obiected, that suche should goe as have no lands, &c.: It is easylye answ: Such cannot goe alone, some of ability must goe to convey them over.

[Here ends the first page of the MS. On the other side of the same paper, *reversed*, is found what follows: — it being evidently the conclusion of a letter to some one of his friends who had remonstrated against the N. E. enterprise.]

. . . . . w^ch^ now lyes wast there, more plenty wilbe lefte to suche as remaine behinde.

3: For the 3: if y^t^ it be a psonall instance it may best receive answere from such as it concerns, but as it may be extended to the estate of o^r^ Churche & Com: w: let the grones & fears of Gods people giue a silent answer. If o^r^ condition be good, why doe his Embassadours turne their messages into Complaints & threatnings? why doe they soe confidently denounce wrath & iudgm^t^ ag^t^ us? Why doe they pray so much for healinge, if we be not sicke? Why doe their soules weepe in secret? & will not be comforted, if there be yet hope that o^r^ hurt may be healed? One Calfe set vp in Israell removed the tabernacle out of the host, & for 2 God forsook them for ever. One Achan troubled all the people. Let not us trust to the Temple of the Lord, yea many faithfull miñrs & good people: Israell had such priviledges when her Destructiõ was at hande; Elias & Elisha & aboue 400: good ꝑphetts, & 7000 good protestants in Ahab's tyme (I suppose the best dayes before could not shewe the like): had not Jerusalem Jeremy & his contemporaries? yet she came down wonderfully because she would not believe that an enemy could enter into her gates. What though the princes & great ones of the earthe, &c., shall not the iniquity of her ꝑphetts & priests, & the crye of innocent blood make all her confidence vaine? if it be thus w^th^ vs, where then is the happinesse we should rest in? if we imitate Sodom in her pride & intemperance, if Laodicea in her lukewarmnesse, if Eph:, Sardis, &c., in the sins for w^ch^ their Candlesticke was

Lam. 4: 12, 13, 17.

removed, if the turks & other heathen in their abominations, yea if the Sinagogue of Antichrist in her superstition, where is yet the good should content us? but it may be it is to be found in the Civill state; what means then the bleating of so many oppressed w^th^ wronge, that drink wormwood for righteousness? Why doe so many seely sheep that seeke shelter at the iudgm^t^ seats, returne w^th^out their fleeces? Why meet we so many wandering ghosts in shape of men, so many spectacles of misery in all o^r^ streets, o^r^ houses full of victuals & o^r^ entryes of hunger-starved christains? o^r^ shoppes full of riche wares, & vnder o^r^ stalles lye o^r^ owne fleshe in nakednesse. *Si hæc bona vera, ignorare adhuc placet.*

For the Abiennes [?*] &c.: yet you will grant that it had been better suche had fled, for they may yet belonge to God, at least some of them, — dothe not the history of the Churche give vs many examples of the like, who have been renewed by repentance? & for the posteryty bothe of good & badde, they are in the Covenant, & a holy seed, & so such as the Churche might have had good hope of, if they might have been brought vp vnder their menes. yet we ascribe no suche vertue to the soile: therefore that Conclusion might have been spared.

For the Corruptiõ in trade, I see it is not denyed, if it were, I would desire him to instance one, (being fitt imployment for an ingenious minde) wherein a man may looke for recompence suitable to his expence of tyme & industrie; except falshood be admitted to equall the ballance. And for that Course of husbandry w^ch^ Jacob & the patriarchs vsed, it was honorable & vsefull in those tymes & Contryes, but not in o^rs^. They had their lande for nothing. If we should imploye o^r^ children in that waye now, their work would soone eat vp their stockes. & for yo^r^ supposition of what redresse might be had in these things by the magistrate, [it] dothe not conclude that it shalbe, nor tye vs to expect what you give vs no grounde to hope for. We confesse indeed that the multitude of people is the glorye of a kinge, & to maintain these & imploye them to the more profit doth not diminish but increase his glorye. those w^ch^ goe over remaine still his subiects: they may multiply as fast there as heere: by their labor, more food & other ꝓvisions for life shalbe raysed abroad, & yet no whitt the lesse at home: so that it is likely the nayls shalbe somewhat shortned, & yet the flesh remaine wholl.

If you will have us follow you, as you goe, we must yield you the Question: you should first have proved that the foundatiõ was erronious, otherwise you conclude

* Perhaps, an abreviation for Albigenses.

nothing. we saye, & maintaine by sufficient reasons, that the plantatiõ is a lawfull & good worke: but seeinge your 2d argt implyes a denyall, *hic pes ligatur:* & to omitt all the former, I wil insist vpon this one Argumt. A lande ouerburdened wth people may ease it self by sending a p̃te into any other Countrys, wch lye waste & not replenished: but suche is the condition of or lande, ergo, &c. The ꝓpositiõ I prove thus. God at first did not replenish the earthe wth men but gave them a genl Comissn. Gen: 1: 28, encrease & multiply, & replenish the earth & subdue it: the ends are naturall & double, that man may enioye the fruit of the earth, & God may have his due glory from the Creature, wch is imperfect, while it lyes waste. The Assertion I thus prove, (though I never heard it denyed), many of or people perish for want of sustenance & imploymt, many others live miserably & not to the honor of so bountifull a housekeepr as the Lord of heaven & earth is, through the scarcity of the fruits of the earth.* all or townes complain of the burden of poore people & strive by all menes to ridd any such as they have, & to keepe off such as would come to them: masters are forced by authy to entertaine servants, parents to maintain their children; more strife there is & expence between parishes to get ridd of some of their poore, then would suffice to maintaine them many yeares, & to fill vp this Cloud of testimonyes (*quanqū animus meminisse horret*) I must tell you, that or deare mother findes her famyly so overcharged, as she hathe been forced to denye harbour to her owne children: wittnesse the statutes agt cottages & inmates: so that whither it be of necessity or by inevitable accident this is or conditiõ, & no remedy appeares, so the Assumptiõ is proued, & the Argumt stands good. as for those Allusions resembling David's longinge for a draught of water to this Action, the things are so vnlike as neede no answere: yor similitudes must have more legges, if you will have them stande vpright or prove any thinge.

* The whole lande of the kingdom, as it is, is scarce sufficient to give imploymt to one half of the people.

Amonge all other difficultyes, the ꝓvision for yr poore will prove a laberinth [?] because to preserve life in the weaker you must drawe blood from the stronger, yet you shall finde often thus, that gentle speeches & a small reliefe from yr own hande, will prevaile muche wth bothe p̃tyes. and if things growe to an extremity, as I feare they will soone, it will proue a savinge bargain; if popular tumults should arise, wch God forbide, remember the issue of the Commotiõ of the pesants in Germany: those base people were soone punished or subdued, but then were the riche men of the Countrye called to a reconinge, wch cost many of them their lives & estates, whereof some did but looke

on, & durst not relieve them, & others relieved them ag^{t} their willes, givinge a p̃te to save the rest; & so founde the p̃verbe true, *facile invenies* &c., but these things are too highe for my conceipt, though not vnfitt for yo^{r} consideration. I have been over teadious & bolde vpon your gentlenesse, but my hearte is still full either of matter or affection, & I could vent it freely, for *Literæ non erubescunt.*

[Here ends the second page.]

Obiections agt this intended Plantation for New E: Answered & resolued.

1: Ob: it is attended wth many difficulties.

Answ: So is everye good Action: the heathen could saye *Ardua virtutis via.*

2: The waye of Gods kingdome (w^{ch} is the best waye in the world) is accompanied wth most difficultyes, & his servants (who are the best of the world) meet wth greatest troubles.

2: Ob: It will certainely overthrowe o^{r} liues & estates.

Ans: 1: there is no apparent reason to feare this, for there is no suche danger either of sworde, famine or pestilence, as is supposed, & it must be by some of these or the like.

2: If the Action be good, then is it Gods worke, & he who gave vs o^{r} liues & estates must haue libt̃ye to dispose of them at his pleasure, as he hathe doone wth others of his faithfull servants; thus he disposed of the liues & estates of 80: of his priests whõ Doeg slewe; thus he disposed of the life & estate of Earle of Bezies in France, & of his subiects who maintained a iust cause of Religiõ & right ag^{t} the vniust violence of the Earl Montfort & the Popes Legatt: Thus he disposed of the Cityes of Tholouse, Merindall, Cabarrus & many others, & of the liues & estates of the Inhīants, & so hathe he doone wth them of the Pallat̃ate, bothe prince & people in the like quarell.

3: Ob. If it succeed ill, it will rayse a scandall vpon o^{r} profess^{n}.

Ans: It is no rule in Philosophy (muche lesse in Devinity) to iudge the Actiõ by the successe: the enterprize of the Israelites ag^{t} Beniamī succeeded ill twice, yet the Actiõ was good, & prospered in the ende. The Duke of Saxonye & the Landgrave of Hesse had ill successe in their warre wth Charles the 5 in defence of the Gospell, for they were bothe taken & kept longe in prison, & the Duke & his children lost their wholl inheritance to this daye. The King of Denmark & other Princes of the Ucraine had ill successe in assisting the Palt^{te}. Examples in this kinde are frequent, yet where the Cause was good, their p̃fession suffered not, except it were wth the adversaryes of Religiõ w^{ch} is no scandall.

4. Ob: It is a worke aboue the power of the vndertakers, being but 6: or 10: Gent.

Ans: 1: This estimate falles shorte aboue 100: p̃sons of qualitye or estate, who are interested herein.

2: The wellfare of a bodye consists not so muche in the quantitye,

as in the proportiõ & dispositiõ of the parts: & the smaler o^r number is, the lesse ꝑvisiõ will serve.

3: It is no wonder for great things to arise from smale & contemptible beginings: it hathe been oftẽ seene in kingdomes & empires, & may as well holde in townes & plantations *nihil simul natum & perfectū.* Abraham went out of Vr w^th a small Company, & thoughe he & his posteryty liued amonge the Canaanites in a strange lande, yet God increased them to many great nations: Jacob went downe into Egypt w^th 70: soules, but he came backe w^th a mighty hoste. The Waldenses were scattered into the Alpes & mountains of Peydmont, by small Companyes, but they became famous Churches, whereof some remain to this daye.

5: Ob: The Countrye affords no naturall fortifications.

Answ: No more did Hollande, & other places, w^ch had greater enemys, & nerer at hande then we shall haue yonder. And God dothe vse to place his people in the middest of perills, that they may trust in him, & not in outward means of safety. So when he would choose a place to plant his onely beloved people in, he seated them not in an Island or other place fortified by nature, but in a plain Contrye, besett w^th potent & bitter enemys rounde about, yet so longe as they served him & trusted in his helpe, they were safe. So the Apł Paul says of hĩselfe & his fellows, that they were compassed w^th dangers on every side & dayly were vnder the sentence of deathe, that they might learne to trust in the livinge God.

God hath giuen man the facultye of Reason, to supplye all naturall defects whereby (being the most naked of defence of all other Creatures) he is able to defende himselfe ag^t the strength of them, & to bringe them all into subiectiõ.

Ob: 6. The place affords not comfortable means to the first planters.

Ans: No more did any other place of it self to the first Inhabts: but by Gods blessinge vpon the wisdome & industry of man, those deserts are ordenaryly supplied & whatsoever we stand in need of is treasured vp in the earth by the Creator, & is to be fetched hence by the sweatt of our browes.

Ob: 7: Our breedinge at home hathe made vs the more vnfitt for the hardshipp we must endure there.

Answ: We must therefore learn of the Ap^tle, to want as well as to abounde.

2: if we have suffiẽ to fill the belly & clothe the back, the difference in the quality may a litle displease vs, but it cañot hurt vs.

3: it may be God will by this menes bringe vs to repent of o^r Intemperance here at home, & so cure vs of that disease w^ch sends many amongst vs to hell. So he carried his people into the wildernesse, & made them forgett the flesh-potts of Egipt w^ch was some pinch to them indeed, but he disposed it to their good in the ende. Deut. 8, 3: 16.

Ob: 8. The natiues wilbe ill neighb^rs in regard of their great number & treacherousnesse.

Answ: if we may belieue suche as have lived amonge them, there are not so many of them in 20 miles compass as wilbe of us.

2: ten of o^{rs} are able (in regard of the advantage of o^{r} weapons) to overmatche 100 of them.

Ob: 9. The experience of other plantations may tell vs what will befall this.

Answ: 1: None of them sustained any great damage but Virginia, & that was merely through their own misgoverm^{t} & securyty: & their mishapp hath taught all other plantations to prevent the like occasions.

2: The Argum^{t} is not good, for thus it stands: Some plantations have miscarried, therefore we are like to doe so also: It consists of ꝑtic^{s}, & therefore concludes nothing, for we might as well reason thus; many houses have been burnt by drying of malt, therefore we should use no malt but drink water. Many shipps have been cast away, therefore we may not goe to sea. Some men have been vndoone by being in great offices, therefore we should resist all preferrm^{t}. Many men are kept from heaven by their riches, therefore we should give away all o^{r} welthe.

Ob: 10 is a Conclusiõ gathered from all the former obiections: that we must looke to be preserved by miracle, if we shall subsist there, & so it is a tempting of God.

Answ. 1: They who walk vnder ordinary menes of safety & supply doe not tempt God, but suche wilbe o^{r} Conditiõ in this plantation. Ergo: the proposition cant be denyed. the Assumption I proue thus: we shalbe as muche secured from ordinary dangers as mãy 1000: places in the Civill p̃ts of the world are. & we shall have as muche ꝓvision before hand as those tounes w^{ch} feare a seige or dearth do vse to provide, & sufficient menes for raysing a succeeding store ag^{t} that be spent. If it be denyed that we shalbe as secure from enemys as many other places, I answ: those of o^{r} sea tounes, & suche as are vpon the Confines of enemys Contryes in the Continent, lye open to more danger then we shall, & though such townes have sometymes been spoyled, yet men tempt not God to dwell still in them. & though many houses, w^{ch} stande alone in the Contrye amonge vs, have been robbed & the owners killed in them, yet no man will saye, that suche must look for miracles if they shalbe preserved & their goods in safety:

2: Though miracles be ceased, yet we may expecte a more then ordinarye blessing from God vpon all lawfull menes, where the work is the Lords, & he is sought in it accordinge to his will: for it is vsuall wth him to increase the strength of the menes, or to weaken them, as he is pleased or displeased with the Instruments & the Actiõ: & yet bothe wthout miracle: else you must conclude that he hathe lefte the goverm^{t} of the world, & comitted all power to the Creature, that the successe of things should wholly depend vpon the second Causes.

3: I appeal to the iudgm^{t} of o^{r} best soldiers, if 500: men may not in a month rayse a fortificatiõ, that wth sufficient munitiõ & victuall, they may make good ag^{t} 2000 for many months, & yet wthout miracle.

Lastly, I propound to these obiectors, if any of them will laye downe 20li vpon good securyty to have 100li for it, when any prince or natiõ shalbe at the charge & hazard to furnish out 1000 Souldiers for vj or 8 monthes, & land them in New: E. to take a place any waye fortified, & where no booty can be expected: if they refuse this offer, they must confesse, that or safety will be 5: to one lesse than miraculous.*

Lastly we propound to these ob: of suche inevitable dangers, that they will give us an Instance of any Prince or state that hath raysed 2000: men, & victualled them for vj monthes, wth munitiõ & shippes wherewth to invade a place so farr distant as this is from any foreign enemye, & where they must runne a hazard of repulse, & no bootye, or iust title of sovereinty to allure them.

Mr. DEANE read the following letter, cited in one of the English Calendars of State Papers, from Henry Vane the younger, to his father, written shortly before his embarkation in the "Defence," for New England, in 1635.

P. R. O. Dom. Car. I. Vol. 293, No. 63.

May it please you,

I am but newly come backe from speaking wth Mr Craddock concerning my intended journey, and have thought it my duty to dispatch forthwth this bearer to you wth the information of what upon consultation wth him seemes to me most necessary and convenient to be done; wch is this. That both in regard of the safety of the passage and of the season of the yeare twilbee most necessary for me to lay hold of the present occasion of these ships wch are now in the River for my transportation into N. E. And although the notice Mr Craddocke tolde me was very late wch I gave him, because the ships looke every daye to be gone: yet he hopes by the Interest that he hath in them to gaine me tenne dayes to prepare my self. And farther hath offered me such accomadation when I come there as I can desire, so that what I cannot now through the shortnes of the time provide my self wth I may take such order wth him that it may come after me. And therefore my humble suite is that you wilbe pleased to dispatch my passe wth his Maty, and, if you shall so thinke fitt, to vouchsafe me by this bearer an assurance from your self that you have really resolved this place for me to goe to, that I may wthout farther protraction of time prepare myself effectually for it wth things sutable to the place. And, Sr, beleeve this from one that hath the honour to bee your sonne (though as the case stands judged to be a most unworthy one), that howsomever you may bee jealous of cercumventions and plots that I entertaine and practise, yet that I will never do any thing (by God's good grace) which both wth honour and a good conscience I may not justify or bee content most willingly to suffer for. And were it not that I am very confident that as surely as there is truth in God, so surely shall my

* The passage thus erased, and for which the succeeding paragraph was substituted, was probably discarded as being too much in the form of a wager: but it helps to show the meaning and force of the clause with which the paper concludes. W.

innocency and integrity bee cleared to you before you dye, I protest to you ingenuously that the jealousy you have of mee would breake my heart. But as I submitt all other things to the disposall of my good God, so do I also my honesty amongst the rest, and though I must confesse I am compassed about w^th^ many infirmitys, and am but too great a blemish to the Religion I do professe, yett the bent and intention of my heart I am sure is sincere, and from hence flowes the sweete peace I enjoy w^th^ my God amidst these many and heavy trialls w^ch^ now fall upon me and attend me: this is my only support in my losse of all other things, and this I doubt not of but that I have an all sufficient God able to protect me, direct me, and reward me, and w^th^in his due time will doe it, and that in the eyes of all my freinds.

Your most truely humble and obedient Sonne H. VANE.

CHERRING CROSSE, this 7^th^ of July, 1635.

Addressed, —

For the right hono^ble^ S^r^ Henry Vane Knight, Comtroller of his Ma^ties^ house hold and of his Ma^ties^ right hono^ble^ privy Counsell, these att the Court — att Theobalds.

A very perfect impression in red wax of the writer's coat-of-arms originally sealed up this letter.

Mr. Deane also read the following extract relating to Vane, from a letter cited in the same Calendar of State Papers: —

P. R. O. Dom. Car. I. Vol. 293, No. 63.

George Garrard to Edwd Vic't Conway & Killultagh.

18th Sept. 1635. "Sir Henry Vane also hath as good as lost his eldest son, who is gone into New England for conscience' sake: he likes not the discipline of the church of England; none of our ministers would give him the Sacrament standing: no persuasions of our bishops nor authority of his parents could prevail with him; let him go; but he has more sons, but those also bred up at Leyden."

Mr. RICHARD H. DANA, Jr., said that he had lately found, in a trunk of what were supposed to be merely business papers of his grandfather's (Chief Justice Francis Dana), the original of the oath taken and subscribed by Andrew Oliver, on the 17th day of December, 1765, with the *jurat* and certificate of his great grandfather, Richard Dana, thereto.

Mr. Dana added as follows, — The Society probably know quite as well as I do the leading facts of that famous occurrence. The Crown was desirous to have some man of leading influence and position to execute the Stamp Act in Massachusetts. It was understood that Andrew Oliver had received a commission to that effect, and the Sons of Liberty waited upon him, in numbers rather persuasive, and

Whereas a Declaration was yesterday inserted in my name and at my desire in some of the Boston News Papers, that I would not act as Distributor of Stamps within this Province, which Declaration I am informed is not satisfactory.

I do hereby in the most explicit and unreserved manner declare, that I have never taken any measure in consequence of my Deputation for that purpose, to act in the Office: and that I never will directly or indirectly, by myself or any under me, make use of the said Deputation, or take any measures for enforcing the Stamp Act in America, which is so grievous to the People.

Boston 17. Decem.r 1765

Andw Oliver

Suffolk ss Boston. Decem.r 17. 1765. The Honble Andrew Oliver Esq.r subscriber to ye above writing, made oath to ye same

Before R.d Dana Just.e Pacis

he promised to publish a letter declining to act. His letter, on being published, was not satisfactory; and the patriot citizens again waited upon him in more persuasive numbers, and invited him to attend them to the Liberty Tree, where they were in the habit of holding their open-air meetings. It was an invitation which, with all its circumstances, he did not like to decline; and there, under the Liberty Tree, he subscribed the declaration required, and made oath to it, before my ancestor, who, as I recollect the narrative, presided at the meeting. The certificate attached is in his handwriting, but the body of the declaration I think is not. This has always been considered one of the turning-points in our history, and certainly is illustrative of the feelings of the times, and of the ways and methods to which they resorted. Personally it interests me, perhaps more than it may you, as the act of administering the oath, under the circumstances, by a barrister and magistrate, was an act of high treason, under the constructions of those days, in which his descendants may now take some satisfaction.

Mr. Dana said he had had a photograph made of the document, which he would send to the Society, if they thought it worth the preserving. The original his father preferred to keep, at least for the present.

The paper communicated by Mr. Dana is as follows: —

Whereas a Declaration was yesterday inserted in my name and at my desire in some of the Boston News Papers, that I would not act as Distributor of Stamps within this Province, which Declaration I am informed is not satisfactory.

I do hereby in the most explicit and unreserved manner declare, that I have never taken any measures in consequence of my Deputation for that purpose to act in the Office: and that I never will directly or indirectly, by my self or any under me, make use of the said Deputation, or take any measures for enforcing the Stamp Act in America, which is so grievous to the People. ANDW OLIVER.

BOSTON, 17 Decemr, 1765.

Suffolk ss. Boston, Decemr 17. 1765. The hoñble Andrew Oliver esqr subscriber to ye above writing, made oath to ye same

Coñ RI DANA, *justa pacis.*

Dr. HEDGE read the following curious extracts from a sermon of the Rev. James Allin, one of his predecessors in the ministry at Brookline, "preached [November 5] upon a special fast, occasioned by the earthquake, which happened in the evening after the 29th day of October, 1727": —

There are very probably *natural Causes* of Thunder and Lightning

which *Philosophers* undertake to account for, which brings to Mind the *bold saying* of an obdurate sinner, viz. That to have *the Awe and Impression of a Deity upon our Minds when we see the Lightning and hear the Thunder is vain and childish, because we can assign the natural Causes of them.* But this is to pervert the great Design of their glorious Author, which is to make us Fear Him, to rouze up an unthinking World to the consideration of a God above us, that can in a Moment destroy our lives. This was the happy influence of it upon a *celebrated Man* who was reclaimed *from Atheism* by the terrors of Thunder and Lightning.

The Lightning is very evidently a mixture of *Sulphurous* and *Nitrous Particles* extracted from the Earth by the Sun, which meeting in the middle Region of the Air, are put into a quick motion, or by an *Antiperistasis* are set on Fire; which is also the true notion of the *Stella cadens;* the odds between them being only this the *Meteor* which causes the Lightning being shut up in a thick Cloud, and taking Fire there, and so bursting the Cloud, throws it self out with the mighty and irresistible force we sometimes see: Whereas the other being under no Confinement is more gradual in its motion, and usually spends its strength in the Air. The *perpendicular motion* in the Lightning is from the *Nitre*, the peculiar Quality of which is to burn downwards, and 'tis this renders it so quick and penetrating. . . . . .

The *Thunder* follows the Lightning as the Effect the Cause, and is made either by the Collision of the Clouds from the breaking out of the Lightning, or by the divided Clouds falling together after it's Expulsion. The most lively Emblem in nature of Thunder and Lightning is *Gunpowder*, both in respect of its Noise from the mouth of a Cannon, and the Effects of it. Hence it is called *Artificial Thundring.*

. . . . . .

God *is the Primary Efficient Cause of Earthquakes.*

As *Thunder* is His Voice, and *Lightning* a Flame that goeth out of His Mouth; so *Earthquakes* are caused by His Strong Hand: And how much soever it exceeds the Strength of any Creature or all united, to shake the Earth, the *Omnipotent Author* of it can do it with greater Ease than any of us can move a Finger or wave a Feather. *Job* having asserted the Power of God in general, descends to prove it by an Induction of particular Instances, Job 9. 5, 6. *He is mighty in Strength, — — removeth the Mountains, and they know not, overturneth them in his anger, shaketh the Earth out of her place and the Pillars thereof tremble.* What is it that infinite Power exerted to the height can't effect? As He gave Existence to the whole *Globe* of Earth by a Word, so He can destroy it in a Moment.

'Tis absurd and atheistical to assert that Earthquakes are the Effects of a *blind Chance;* or to resolve them into *natural Causes*, exclusive of the *Divine Superintendency* and Efficiency: We may affirm on equal grounds that God does nothing in the World in respect to Government, that there is no such thing as Reward and Punishment in any degree administered here; as deny Him this great and most sensible and awful Instance of His Power and Justice.

Others tell us that a strong *Windy Exhalation* imprisoned in the Bowels of the Earth and wanting Vent, makes an Earthquake; this also is liable to Exception, it being altogether impossible in Nature that the Wind can have so swift a Currency thro' the Earth as to shake it for five hundred Miles in length within a few Minutes of time; for if we suppose a *Cannon* shot, which glides much swifter thro' the Air then the strongest blast of Wind, flies after the rate of a League in a minute; according to that Computation it must be near three Hours and a half in going 500 Miles, or if we double the Motion it must be one Hour and half, which is above a full Hour more than the distance of time betwixt the late Earthquake's being felt at *Philadelphia*, and at *Arowsick*. . . . . .

I shall here insert a *short Narrative* of this awful Dispensation, and so conclude this *Proposition*.

It begun as I conceive in the *South-East*, about half an Hour after Ten in the *Lord's Day Evening* after the 29th of *October*, 1727. All on a sudden our Houses shook as if they were falling to pieces, and this was attended with a great Noise, which lasted about one Minute, and then took it's Course *Northward*. In a very short time it return'd upon us, tho' with far less Strength, and the *Shocks were repeated seven Times* in my hearing that Night; but they were many more at *Salem*, *Ipswich*, &c. Distant Rumbles were heard by us many times until the next *Friday-Evening:* Since that we don't know that we have heard it; but it has been heard at *Newbury* every Day since, and now for more than three Weeks.

The Surprise and Terror of it were very great: Some thought their Houses were all on Fire about them, and made all possible haste to escape the Burning; others who were free from this Fear, were seized with the Terrors of the *Last Day*, and could think of nothing but the *dissolving World*, the sound of the *last Trumpet*, and the sudden Appearance of Christ their Judge; others expected to die by the falling of their Houses, or that the Earth under them would open, and they should go down alive into the Pit. Words can't express the *Agonies* that our Souls were in; our Faces were pale as Ashes, our Lips quivered, our Speech faultred, and our Knees smote together, and there was no strength left in us; *Our Flesh then trembled for Fear of* God, *and we were afraid of his Judgments.* And we were ready, like the Men of *Judah*, to have fled, if we had known where, because of the Earthquake. And thus I have considered the *first Particular* that I propounded to speak to; viz. *That Thunder and Earthquakes are the awful Visitations of God to a People.*

The President laid on the table Massachusetts Senate document, No. 305, containing the present and the late Attorney-General's statement, and also the statement of this Society through Dr. Ellis, Chairman of a Committee, relating to the "Hutchinson Papers" controversy.

Dr. ELLIS spoke of the importance of agreeing upon an

umpire in the matter of the "Hutchinson Papers," in the place of Mr. Henry Adams, who by some inadvertency failed to receive the papers in the case sent to him many months ago, and who now was going to Europe and could not serve.

Mr. W. G. BROOKS, from the Building Committee, read the following copy of an inscription placed under the wall of the Society's building now undergoing reconstruction: —

BOSTON, May 10th, 1872.

DEPOSITED

IN THE FRONT WALL OF AN EDIFICE BELONGING TO

The Massachusetts Historical Society,

IN ORDER TO PRESERVE AND PERPETUATE FACTS RELATING TO THE BUILDING.

This building was erected in the year 1832, by the Provident Institution for Savings; and a portion of it was purchased by the Massachusetts Historical Society, March 6, 1833, and the remainder March 13, 1856. It was rebuilt, and the two lower stories leased to the City Government in the year 1872.

The *MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY* was founded Jan. 24, 1791, and incorporated Feb. 19, 1794.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1872.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP . . . . . *President*
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, EMORY WASHBURN . . . . . *Vice-Presidents*
CHARLES DEANE . . . . . *Recording Secretary*
CHANDLER ROBBINS . . . . . *Corresponding Secretary*
RICHARD FROTHINGHAM . . . . . *Treasurer*
SAMUEL A. GREEN . . . . . *Librarian*
HENRY G. DENNY . . . . . *Cabinet-keeper*

Standing Committee.

EDMUND QUINCY. GEORGE S. HILLARD.
ROBERT C. WATERSTON. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF.
AUGUSTUS T. PERKINS.

Building Committee.

ROBERT M. MASON. ERASTUS B. BIGELOW.
WILLIAM G. BROOKS.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian.* RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

Messrs. RYDER AND HARRIS, *Architects.*

The President read a letter from our associate, Colonel Lyman, dated at Paris, May 3, desiring that his name may be added to the Treasurer's list of subscribers to a fund con-

tributed by members in lieu of the annual assessment for 1872.

The President announced a gift from H. Buxton Forman, Esq., of London, of a poem entitled the "Great Peacemaker," by Mr. R. H. Horne; also the gift of a medal, on the coronation of Queen Victoria, by Mrs. Romeo Elton; for which the acknowledgments of the Society were ordered.

The President also called attention to a volume sent to himself personally by the author, Mr. Forman, entitled "Walter Scott, a Centenary Tribute; reprinted from the 'London Quarterly Review' for April, 1872"; printed "for private distribution." In this the writer has made favorable notice of the commemorative tributes to Sir Walter by this Society last year, as printed in the Proceedings, — the letter of Dr. Holmes being copied entire.

The President referred to the presence of Dr. Dexter at this meeting, he having recently returned from Europe.

Mr. DEXTER, in response, spoke of some historical investigations made by him in England and in Leyden, relating to the Pilgrims.

The President mentioned the recent decease of the venerable Charles Cleveland, of Boston, who was within a fortnight of having completed his hundredth year.

The Society now adjourned to the lawn in front of the house, to assist in the planting of a tree (a purple beech) under the superintendence of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, who was present as an invited guest. Spadefuls of earth were thrown in by Professors Longfellow, Lowell, Parkman, and Washburn, and by Colonel Aspinwall, Dr. Palfrey, Dr. Gray, the President of the American Academy, and by Mr. Winthrop as President of the Society.